20¢ JULY 24, 1950

New Republic

MOBILIZATION NOW: THE PRICE WE MUST PAY

AN EDITORIAL

A LONG, TOUGH FIGHT

By FLETCHER PRATT

NEW SOUTH, OLD PROBLEMS

By A. G. MEZERIK

PERCY WINNER ON:
EUROPE'S REACTION TO KOREA

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"help make democracy work"

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■ Mobilization piecemeal—or all out?

■ Can diplomacy find a solution—or must we anticipate the final showdown?

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■ But a general opinion will emerge and it must be the right one. It must be the product of hard thinking combined with a full understanding of issues and facts.

■ The destiny of the UN, the security of our country and the fate of civilization, should the war spread, are in the balance. The front in Korea claims the major attention of the press. Yet there are other fronts equally vital. The failure of FEPC in Congress is a battle lost to the enemy. Every action, or lack of action, on the home front that weakens the trust the Asian and African peoples should place in our sincerity is a loss that could count for more than warships and planes.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

TRUE TO PATTERN in great emergencies, Congress is criticizing nearly everything being done here while loyally voting authority to do it. But now, right on schedule, comes the old issue between Haves and Have-nots. It comes in the question of who is to pay for Korea. GOP and Dixiecrat Senators say, "Let's cut civilian expenditures ten percent to help meet military costs!" What that really means is to cut social benefits that go to low-income groups. The Haves want the Have-nots to pick up the check. (It also means cutting Marshall Plan funds, but the folly of this is so patent that we doubt if it will get far.) The obvious place to start in war financing is on fat corporate profits now near all-time peaks. If the 80th Congress hadn't voted to cut corporate taxes, over Truman's veto, most of the red would never have appeared in the federal budget.

Truman is finally going to the country in a fireside chat on the crisis. He is strangely reluctant to make such speeches, which is a pity in our estimation. In times of great strain the people automatically turn to the White House. The American President is half politician and half high priest. The latter role has a semi-mystical appeal which may be preposterous and certainly isn't spelled out in the Constitution. But anybody who has been around long knows its importance in crises and has watched it work. Like the Capitol and the Flag, the Presidency is a symbol; the knowledge of its importance sometimes turns mediocre men into great men. If you want to call it that, it is part of the American mystique. Anyway, it's a factor in our government that is as solid as post offices.

Korea has set giant wheels turning that will not stop easily, if ever. By now Moscow may be sorry it began the thing. For example, Americans have suddenly discovered the practical advantage of the United Nations in enlisting moral support. Again, the United States finds itself automatically playing the role of world policeman and will probably keep on doing it for good. Simultaneously, the public is shocked by the oppressive discovery of its own unpreparedness. What is happening now is not merely aimed at Korea but at strengthening our position all over the world. To take one example, the stage of experimental research on "new weapons" is now beginning to blend into the stage of production.

America has never had a big standing army. A solemn question now is whether we can guard democracy with the additional burden of a bigger military. A practical example came last week when the House passed, 327 to 14, a bill allowing 11 departments and agencies to fire any employee as a "poor security risk" without review by any other authority. This is scare legislation. In one neat slice the bill cut off half a century of civil-service protection and opened the way for revival of the spoils system. Floor debate and close votes showed that many members expected the Senate to modify the bill or the President to veto it.

The Senate confirmation fights deserve attention. Atomic Energy Commissioner Sumner Pike came through all right last week, 55 to 24. This was a much bigger majority than expected and represented a sock on the jaw for Senator Hickenlooper which we greatly enjoyed. It showed healthy disgust for vague charges and also possible repugnance at the crass self-interest argument advanced by Senators Johnson and Millikin of Colorado. Pike ruled against Colorado uranium, it seems, so they voted against him and asked others to do the same.

The other confirmation involves brilliant William H. Hastie, first Negro to be nominated as judge of the Federal Circuit Court. Truman made his recess appointment last October. All other judges picked at that time have been confirmed by now. Hastie's appointment was bottled up in the Senate Judiciary Committee, but it now seems promising.

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The very delay and the hidden racialist reason for it will make the victory, if it comes, all the more impressive.

In part it will also compensate for the Senate's latest failure on FEPC. The Senate voted 53 to 33 in favor of bringing up the fair-employment-practices bill last week but a majority wasn't enough.

Experienced war correspondents know censorship is necessary, and they bow to it. But a quick showdown is needed at General MacArthur's GHQ. We have never cared for MacArthur as an individual, though he may be a great general for all we know. But every newspaperman in the Orient knows MacArthur is surrounded by a group of arrogant military sycophants and Japanese flatterers. The respected London *Times'* correspondent is *persona non grata* and is not allowed at the general's press conferences, and the press officer there has said slurring things about the *Times* itself. Now an AP man and a UP man are suddenly banned from the front, not because of reportorial inaccuracies but because they told how the doughboys felt in the grim retreat and "made the Army look bad." This ban by Colonel Marion P. Echols, public-relations officer, has been hastily rescinded, but the MacArthur hierarchy still urgently needs chastening.

On October 8 the American Medical Association starts its super-duper $1.1 million advertising campaign against "socialized medicine." Organized medicine, closest craft monopoly in the country, is out to head off a threatening competitor. With half-page advertisements in 11,000 dailies and weeklies, spot announcements on 300 radio stations, big insertions in 30 leading magazines and tie-in advertisements by the larger drug and patent-medicine manufacturers expected to reach 20 times the volume of AMA's own ads, it should be something to watch. We bet a bottle of Cascarets that the *Reader's Digest* crashes through with something, too, maybe by John T. Flynn. We find it hard to believe that the public will take this, or the grateful editorials which newspapers will volunteer, very seriously. But then, maybe we are a mite bilious this week and ought to see a physician.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

News in Frankfurt

SIR: In Mr. Percy Winner's excellent article on Germany (the *NR*, June 12), I am puzzled by his statement that: "Freedom of the press has allowed the newspapers to publish nothing at all about the trial in Frankfurt of the man who knowingly sold the Nazi government the poison gas to kill 450,000 persons at Auschwitz."

This trial was covered, to my certain knowledge, by the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, the *Neue Presse*, and the Frankfurt edition of our *Neue Zeitung*. The first trial, which took place in 1949, was, naturally, given greater coverage. But I believe the trial to which Mr. Winner refers must be the second trial, which took place in the Frankfurt Court of Appeals in April of this year.

The appeal in question was made by the prosecutor, Dr. Hans Kosterlitz, because of the light sentence of five years' imprisonment which was given Gerhard Peters in 1949. The appeals court, in April of this year, stiffened the five-year term to confinement in a penitentiary, instead of in an ordinary prison.

May I add that as long as the *Rundschau* is on the newsstands in Frankfurt, and Dr. Kosterlitz is prosecutor in the Frankfurt Criminal Court, there's not much danger of such things being kept from the man in the street? . . .

Frankfurt, Germany KAY BOYLE

Right to Privacy

SIR: I am shocked by T. R. B.'s approval of power for a Congressional committee to jail those who refuse to give a "yes or no" answer to the question, "Are you a Communist?" (the *NR*, June 19). Thousands of businessmen refuse to vote in primaries lest they expose their political faith and alienate customers who hold opposing beliefs. Must Communists subject their status, their jobs, their very freedom to the consequences of an artificially stimulated hysteria? If the Communist Party is truly an illegal conspiracy, outlaw it directly. If it is a legal party its members should be accorded the traditional rights of Americans. . . .

But the issue raises another question. How does one give a "yes or no" answer if he is not a party member, even disapproves its antics but believes that the Communist slogan, "From each according to his ability; to each according to his need," is in full accord with Christian ethics and democratic principles; that it expresses a goal worth striving for and, perhaps, attainable some day by democratic means? To preserve his "respectability" must he conceal this belief and join the ranks of the Red-baiters?

The jailing of the Hollywood Ten and the Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee members, the prosecution of Bridges and his lawyers, the current drive to intimidate teachers, artists, scientists who disapprove our "cold war" policy is evidence of a pathetic deterioration of our cherished free institutions. While the *New Republic* rejoices (prematurely) over the handcuffing of Jim Crow, it had better remain alert to the ever increasing intolerance for minorities and minority opinion. . . . Let's stop the witch-hunt.

Beverly Hills, Calif. IRVING H. FLAMM

SIR: There is room for difference of opinion on the "Are you a Communist?" issue. Sweeping Congressional right of inquiry is a basic tenet of our government; it is a protection of the citizen and courts have generally upheld Congress on appeal. This does not justify excessive use of the power. As an analogy, we have always felt that public-utility workers had the *right* to strike, but should hesitate to exercise it. The House Un-American Activities Committee, by excessive contempt citations, seems as usual to be playing the Communists' game by making the procedure ridiculous. Yet should not a witness before the Tydings' committee—*Amerasia* ex-editor Philip Jaffe, for example—be required to say whether he is, or is not, a Communist? We asked three outstanding liberals here and got a two-to-one affirmative vote. What do other readers think?

Washington, D. C. T. R. B.

Korea and Formosa

SIR: Your Washington correspondent in the July 10 issue refers to the Koreans as "a primitive people." Korea is a country with more than four thousand years of history and a rich culture, and it served as a highway by which Chinese civilization penetrated to Japan. America will only alienate Asian peoples by thinking that because their culture is so different or their industrialization less advanced, the people are primitive. . . .

Your editorial recommendation to put Formosa under a United Nations mandate with the promise of eventual independence does not seem to be well taken. The implication is that the United States should do the "putting" and should enjoy the said mandate. According to the Cairo agreement, Formosa was recognized as Chinese territory, and that agreement was implemented at the close of the war by turning the island over to Chinese Nationalist authorities. . . . The Security Council gave the US no authority to act in regard to Formosa and Indo-China, and the Chinese delegate who cast the decisive vote would hardly have voted to approve Truman's pronouncement on the status of Formosa. . . .

Jamaica, N. Y. IRENE C. CHANG

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VOLUME 123, NUMBER 4, ISSUE 1860, NEW YORK CITY, JULY 24, 1950 **New Republic**

MOBILIZATION NOW IS THE PRICE

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has determined that no further time should be lost before preparing this nation to bear the huge burden we have assumed in entering Korea. As we go to press, the details of his message to Congress on what we as a nation must now undertake are not yet known. The general course to which we are committed, however, is inescapably clear. The United States will intervene anywhere in the world that aggression occurs. To equip ourselves for so gigantic a task, billions more will be asked of Congress to increase our armed strength and that of our allies as swiftly as possible.

There is little disagreement even among the Republicans on the urgent necessity of strengthening our military position. Most Congressmen are expected to vote for substantial appropriations for this purpose with few questions. Probably there will be slight opposition even to imposing certain controls on the civilian economy, as it becomes necessary to divert materials, facilities and manpower from civilian to military production.

It will require no great show of leadership from President Truman to secure this skeleton program. But it is not a skeleton that the times demand. The effort which the United States is now called upon by history to exert must also have blood and sinews if it is to inspire and encourage all the United Nations to stand firm for their common good.

As the leader of the United Nations forces, the United States must act simultaneously from two assumptions. First, it must continue to assume that a general war is not inevitable, and it must follow a program aimed toward preventing one. At the same time, it must assume that a general war is possible and make sure of its defenses. Both eventualities call for long-range planning instead of policies based on the reactions to each day's war news as it comes.

Three lines of conduct are called for, with roughly equivalent sums allotted to each. As a beginning we suggest that the United States enter upon a $15 billion program to be spent as follows:

- $5 billion for additional military expenditures.
- $5 billion for foreign economic aid to raise the productive potential in strategic areas of the world.
- $5 billion for expanding the productive capacity of America.

This $15 billion program is a far cry from total mobilization in a $207 billion economy such as ours. It is the kind of program required for security and growth.

On the purely military side, the action in Korea dictates certain revisions in our previous planning. (See Fletcher Pratt's discussion elsewhere in this issue.) Much larger ground and naval forces are now thought necessary, in addition to far costlier programs for producing new lines of equipment. Larger sums will be required for military assistance to the North Atlantic Council nations to expand their military establishments in line with the "balanced force" plan we have urged them to adopt for the defense of Western Europe.

A much larger program of foreign economic aid than we have yet considered is essential to provide tangible hope of progress for the non-Communist world. The paltry beginning the United States has made in the Point Four Program toward the development of the backward areas of the world should, of course, be extended much further. At the same time we should now undertake the larger task of providing the funds required to expand the capacity to produce and therefore to prosper in such danger spots as India and the Middle East. A direct loan of substantial size to India should receive first priority. The industrial programs which would be started on the strength of such loans would make new demands on materials now going into civilian usage in the United States, and we would have to be prepared to give up some luxury products as well as to assume the financial risks involved in such development.

Unless we are willing to invest that heavily in a non-Communist future for the needy nations of the world, however, we will continue to find ourselves without reliable allies in arms, regardless of how many billions we spend for defense.

To lead the United Nations successfully either in war or peace, the United States must increase its own power to produce. For war or peace, the expansion we need is the same. We need more iron ore and steel, electric power and aluminum, copper, lead and zinc, freight cars and shipping, whether it is military or peacetime might we are immediately seeking. To achieve any considerable increase in our industrial production at all, to carry out even a moderate expansion in our military program, the United States needs at least 10 percent more steel-producing capacity than it now has. Our steel industry, basic

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for almost all other production, is presently running at its full capacity of 100 million tons per year. Ten million more tons would be a minimum margin for safety. In this emergency it doubtless will be necessary to set up a system of priorities and allocations to divide the present supply of steel to the utmost advantage. Looking to the time when world steel requirements will far exceed present ones, Truman should declare a 10-percent increase in steel capacity to be the national goal and commit the government to furnishing whatever part of that increase the steel industry could not be persuaded, by low-interest loans or tax inducements, to construct on its own.

The second most crucial point in our industrial situation, as military production climbs, will be in the supply of electric power. Government experts estimate that even if the only important increase in demand for power is for the production of aluminum and magnesium, we will need from 500,000 to 700,000 more kilowatts than we are now producing. Simply to restore two wartime aluminum plants, now standing idle, to production for a new aircraft program will take an estimated 200,000 kilowatts of power. The heaviest concentration of immediate war orders will fall in the already power-starved Far West. Immediate expansion of the government's public power program is obviously called for in that region.

Congressional action in five fields would be needed to carry out these three basic programs of defense, foreign economic aid, and industrial expansion at home:

1. Money—appropriations for the military and for general technological development; lending and spending power to increase capacity, production and supply in this country and abroad.

2. Taxes—to drain off excess profits and to make such provisions for depreciation allowances and accelerated amortization as are necessary to encourage private industry to take necessary risks.

3. Credit—to restrain civilian production by tightening consumer credits, restoring the wartime "regulation W" on installment buying, and by control of excessive speculation on commodity exchanges.

4. Production—assuring priority to military orders through inventory controls on business, and allocation of materials to manufacturers and wholesalers. There is no present need for rationing at the retail level.

5. Prices and wages—selective controls, to prevent rises in prices of commodities which significantly affect the cost of living or of national defense or foreign aid and to permit "decontrol" of any price ceilings when they are no longer necessary, and to adjust wages in accord with the cost of living, profits and productivity.

A $15 billion program of the kind described here is modest in size for a nation of our means and for the purpose it is intended to serve. To recreate a condition under which Communism and democracy can live in toleration, we must reëstablish our military strength and our political institutions. We must offer practical help to the non-Communist nations of the world from which they can draw hope for the future. And we must reënforce our national economy to sustain an even larger burden than it has been called upon to carry in the past.

THE WEEK

ONLY 14 VOTED NO

In the name of national security, the House of Representatives has established on a permanent basis a system of arbitrary dismissal which goes far beyond the present loyalty program in jeopardizing the rights of those who work for our government. The "Security Risk" bill passed last week permits the heads of 11 federal agencies to suspend any of their million employees "in the interest of national security." The employee has no appeal to an independent board, such as is provided even under the loyalty program, and has no appeal except to ask the agency head who fired him to reconsider. Amendments designed to give adequate appeal were voted down.

The bill, introduced by Representative Thomas Murray (D, Tenn.), makes permanent the previously temporary authority given the Secretaries of State, Defense, Treasury, and the Atomic Energy Commission, and extends this authority to suspend or remove employees to the Secretary of Commerce and the Attorney General. The suspended worker is allowed "a reasonable opportunity to answer such charges and submit evidence, a hearing upon request, a review of the case by the head of the department, and a written statement of the final decision."

Representative Adam Clayton Powell (D, N. Y.), in opposing the measure, reminded his fellow Representatives that if it applied to the House, some of the members "who drink, gamble, or gossip or have the wrong acquaintances might be poor security risks. Some days we might not be able to raise a quorum if this bill was applied here."

The bill formally condones the star-chamber methods used by Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer to get rid of Michael Lee and William Remington when they were cleared through the regular channels of the federal loyalty system. It will no longer be necessary to go through the process of establishing a man's disloyalty to remove him from his job. Under the Murray bill, even the weak protection provided by the loyalty machinery is removed.

But only 14 members of the House had the understanding and the courage to vote no in the face of phony appeals for "patriotism" in the present crisis. For valor in defense of freedom—in an election year—these men and women deserve special honor: John A. Blat-

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nik (D, Minn.); Helen Gahagan Douglas (D, Calif.); H. R. Gross (R, Iowa); Franck R. Havenner (D, Calif.); Chet Holifield (D, Calif.); Walter B. Huber (D, Ohio); Clare Magee (D, Mo.); Vito Marcantonio (ALP, N. Y.); George P. Miller (D, Calif.); Toby Morris (D, Okla.); George D. O'Brien (D, Mich.); Adam Clayton Powell (D, N. Y.); John Shelley (D, Calif.); and John R. Walsh (D, Ind.).

Under the terms of the bill, the President has authority to extend it to other agencies, whether or not they are "sensitive" from a security viewpoint. Passed by the House, 327 to 14, the measure now goes to the Senate, where the Armed Forces Committee is reported ready to agree to a similar bill. The overwhelming vote of 327 has given encouragement to those who wish to pass the far more vicious Mundt-Ferguson-Nixon "Communist-control" bill before Congress adjourns. Representative Ben Jensen (R, Iowa) concluded the debate with this recommendation: "If there ever were a time when the [Mundt-Nixon] bill should be passed, in my estimation, it is this very minute."

SUMNER PIKE CONFIRMED

A brazen show of party politics and petty prejudices has been displayed by three Senate committees considering recent Truman nominations—Sumner Pike to the Atomic Energy Commission, Martin A. Hutchinson to the Federal Trade Commission, and William Hastie for 3rd Circuit US Court of Appeals.

The Senate last week wisely overrode the action of the Senate Atomic Energy Committee which had voted 5-4 to reject Pike's renomination. Four Republicans on the committee, led by Senator Hickenlooper (Iowa), and Democratic Senator Edwin Johnson (Colo.) voted against Pike on the vague charge that he "simply does not have the attributes he should bring to the job." During the floor debate, Senator Johnson and Senator Eugene Millikin (R, Colo.) admitted that their objection to Pike, acting chairman of the AEC for the past five months, came from his refusal to develop Colorado supplies of low-grade uranium ore as fast—and at as high prices—as they deemed desirable. Senator Brien McMahon (D, Conn.), who led the floor fight for Pike, pointed out that during the committee hearings none of the opposing Senators questioned Pike at any length or brought out valid reasons for objecting to his nomination. He likened Republican opposition to Thomas Brown's seventeenth-century quatrain:

> I do not love thee, Dr. Fell,
> The reason why I cannot tell;
> But this alone I know full well,
> I do not love thee, Dr. Fell.

When the press spotlighted the Republican sneak attempt, the opposition melted away. In the full Senate, after two hours debate, all but five Democrats voted for Pike. The vote was 55 to 24 to confirm Pike for another four-year term. Of the 36 Republicans voting, 19 were against him, including Senators Taft (Ohio), Hickenlooper and Mundt (S. Dak.); 17 for. The following day President Truman promoted Gordon Dean, the vigorous-minded young Californian and former law partner of Senator McMahon, to chairmanship of the AEC. Dean was first named to the Commision in May, 1949. Senate action on his appointment to the chairmanship is not required.

It has been rumored that Senator Byrd (D, Va.) and the Republicans made a deal on the Pike and Hutchinson nominations. Byrd promised Southern Democratic support against Pike in return for Republican support to block confirmation of the able Virginia lawyer and long-time foe of the Byrd machine, Martin Hutchinson. The Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee voted 5 to 3 against Hutchinson on June 15 after Byrd made the appointment a personal issue. The fact that Byrd was unable to rally a large force on the Pike showdown enhances Hutchinson's chances for final approval when the Senate takes up his nomination.

There is little doubt of William Hastie's qualification to serve as a federal judge. Hastie served brilliantly as Governor of the Virgin Islands. Since the first of this year, when President Truman nominated him to the bench, the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator Pat McCarran (D, Nev.), has sporadically met to discuss Hastie. Senator Forrest Donnell (R, Mo.) has led the attack with the identical charges that Senator James O. Eastland (D, Miss.) raised when Hastie was being considered for the Virgin Islands post and which were exploded as baseless at that time. For the past two weeks the "full committee" executive sessions considering Hastie's nomination have consisted of three of his opponents: Senators McCarran, Eastland and Donnell. However, Democratic Senators Harley Kilgore (W. Va.), Frank Graham (N. C.) and Estes Kefauver (Tenn.) have indicated that they will be present to support Hastie when the committee vote is taken. Whether or not the committee approves his nomination this week, there is little doubt but that the Senate as a whole will confirm the appointment.

"THE FINAL IRONY"

Senator Olin D. Johnston (D, S. C.), campaigning against Governor J. Strom Thurmond, the Dixiecrat candidate for President in 1948, in a contest to see which of them could heap the most abuse on President Truman and his Administration, was reëlected by the votes of loyal Truman Democrats who held their noses and went down the line for Johnston as the lesser of the evils.

Thirty-five thousand Democrats voted the Truman ticket in South Carolina in 1948. Sentiment ran high in this group for entering a third candidate who would represent their views in this year's Senate race. In a rare show of self-discipline, they reluctantly faced the fact that to do so would be to throw the election to Dixiecrat Thurmond, and they organized and voted for Johnston instead. Observers say that most of the 35,000 Truman followers came out on Election Day. Johnston won by 23,000 votes.

More than 70,000 Negroes qualified to vote in South Carolina this year. Since it was Johnston who as Governor summoned a special session of the legislature to circumvent the Supreme Court's 1944 decision admitting Negroes to primaries, it took remarkable self-discipline for the Negroes to join in keeping him in the Senate to keep Thurmond out. But they did. It is "the final irony," as the Columbia *Record* remarked, that Johnston "owes his renomination, more than anything else, to the support of the Negroes participating in South Carolina's Democratic primary for the first time!"

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ADA ON THE RECORD

The House Committee to Investigate Lobbying Activities has had the refreshing experience of hearing an organization that was willing to answer any questions and open all records, and did not try to hide anything from the committee's investigators. Francis Biddle, national chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, appearing before the committee last week, admitted that the varied activities of the organization were political, educational, organizational and legislative. "ADA is proud to be a part of what might be called the 'liberal lobby' here in the nation's capital," Biddle said. "We cannot compete in financial resources with organizations like the Committee for Constitutional Government, the National Association of Real Estate Boards, or the National Association of Manufacturers. Nor does ADA claim to be able to produce, by directive from the national officers or the national staff, millions of votes for one side or the other, or for one candidate or another."

Republican committee members Clarence Brown (Ohio) and Charles A. Halleck (Ind.) had a purpose in calling the ADA before the committee. A fortnight ago, Edward K. Rumely of the CCG, whose political philosophy is diametrically opposite to that of the ADA, had testified about the distribution of books and pamphlets attacking the Truman Administration as "socialism." Brown and Halleck were friendly to Rumely and, in an effort to stave off a contempt citation against him because he refused to give the names of contributors, undertook to create the impression that the activities of the CCG were comparable to those of the ADA. Biddle made it clear that there is no basis for comparison. ADA, unlike Rumely's organization, reports to the Clerk of the House, under the Corrupt Practices Act, all contributions of $100 or more and all expenditures of $10 or more. ADA legislative representatives have registered under the Lobbying Act and, Biddle pointed out, the group has never sought tax-deductible status from the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

"Nah! Let's wait till they go Communist, then spend a few billions fighting them."

JUAN TRIPPE FOILED

In a dramatic midnight action, former Civil Aeronautics Board Chairman James M. Landis blocked government sanction of a $17 million deal by which Juan Trippe's Pan American Airways would have achieved dominance in overseas aviation through purchase of American Overseas Airlines. At 1:30 a.m. of the day on which the merger was finally to be approved by the Board, Judge Henry Schweinhaut of the US District Court for the District of Columbia granted Landis a restraining order on behalf of the employees of Pan American, barring the transfer on the ground that irreparable damage would result.

July 19 was set as the date for a hearing on a permanent injunction. Only this intervention prevented the greatest coup in Trippe's eventful career. When the CAB finished its hearing on Pan Am's application to take over the American Overseas line, the decision was against allowing the merger. Chairman Joseph J. O'Connell communicated the Board's view to the President, who indicated that he would go along. Overnight, however, that tentative approval was withdrawn. Two White House aides took charge of the case and returned it to the CAB with the request that the merger be allowed with certain stipulations. But the Board, under O'Connell's leadership, reaffirmed its position. When White House pressure continued, O'Connell resigned in protest. After his departure, the White House idea of revising certain routes and then allowing the merger was followed. All was in readiness for the signing of the official permit when Landis sprang his surprise restraining order.

Landis and the opponents of the merger argue that Pan American is not entitled even to the large slice of our American-flag traffic across the Atlantic it now carries—some 72 percent—much less the almost-monopoly position it would achieve on purchase of the American Overseas franchise. Pan American, Landis charges, is guilty of numerous abuses, "monopolistic in nature." With American Overseas out of transatlantic competition, it is contended, Pan American would find it comparatively simple to dispose of Howard Hughes's Trans World Airlines, its one remaining American rival.

THE HANDY WHERRY GADGET

The record of the 81st Congress on civil rights is now complete. The second effort to bring up the fair-employment-practices bill in the second session failed by a smaller margin than on the first attempt, but the opponents of FEPC probably could have widened that margin substantially had it been necessary. Under the Wherry rule, 64 Senators must now vote for closure of debate to bar a filibuster. Thirty-three Senators, therefore, are enough to prevent any measure from being given clearance for action. On May 19, when the vote to end a filibuster against FEPC was taken after nine days of Southern Democratic oratory, 32 Senators were present to vote nay; 52 aye. The second time, on July 12, 33 were present and voting nay. The number for invoking closure had risen from 52 to 55. The Administration had worked hard to add those three votes to its column. The Southerners had scarcely lifted a finger. All that Senator

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Richard B. Russell (D, Ga.) had to do was total the number of Southerners and special-interest Democrats with whom the Southerners had traded votes and notify his friend Senator Kenneth S. Wherry (R, Nebr.) how many Republicans were needed to make up the difference.

The votes on FEPC this year are proof that the lines are drawing tighter in the South. Senator Estes Kefauver (Tenn.), who previously opposed filibustering on principle, thought it necessary to vote against closure twice in 1950, and Senator Frank Graham (N. C.), who had spoken against filibusters in the past, joined Kefauver last week.

Over the years, the civil-rights side has made it increasingly tougher for the opposition. Enactment of the Wherry rule was an effort to conceal Republican embarrassment over their stand. Until it is repealed, the Republicans are free to absent themselves and back up the Southern forces at the very minimum, while the Democrats must strain to get out every vote every time and hold their lines intact.

A CASE OF SEMANTICS

The private utility companies are preparing a million-dollar campaign to convince the voters that "public power" and "socialism" are synonymous. The idea came from a public-opinion survey sponsored by 150 private utility companies.

Until the nationwide survey, conducted by the Opinion Research Corporation, was made, private utility firms had directed most of their propaganda against the TVA. They were shocked to learn that the general public strongly favors the TVA and considers that major government project a success. Results of the survey showed that 63 percent of the people approve of the TVA, only 10 percent disapprove; 83 percent of the editors and educators polled approve, only seven percent disapprove; 55 percent of Republicans approve, only 17 percent disapprove; and even a majority of employees of private utility companies registered approval!

The change in strategy came as a result of response to the question: "Would socialism be a good thing or a bad thing in the United States?" Some 69 percent felt that it would be a bad thing, while only 10 percent felt it would be good. Twenty-one percent had no opinion.

A booklet explaining the survey has been circulated among private utility companies with these revealing remarks: "From the preceding charts [showing favorable reaction to the TVA], it is apparent that to link our fight to the TVA question would run us into a lot of opposition, most of it based on lack of knowledge. But to link our fight to socialism is something else again. The people do not want socialism. We're on favorable ground there."

MEDIATION IN KOREA?

The capitals of the world were buzzing, over the weekend of July 16, with reports of possible efforts to mediate the Korean conflict. On Thursday, July 13, India sent simultaneous notes to the Russian and American governments expressing deep concern over the Korean fighting, and the hope that it can be ended promptly. India has long favored replacing the Chinese Nationalists in the United Nations with the Chinese Communists, and a proposal to this end may have been included in the document, not yet made public as we write.

Earlier in the week the British Ambassador at Moscow, Sir David Kelly, conferred several times with Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko on the same subject. Sir David, on instructions from his government, reminded the Russians of the Security Council resolution of June 25, calling on all UN members to do everything possible to end the Korean fighting, and asked them to act under it. The fact that Gromyko acceded so promptly to a request for an interview is interpreted as significant, things being what they are in Moscow.

The UN resolution included terms for Korea: both sides to lay down their arms, and the North Koreans to get back behind the 38th Parallel. Russia's "peace terms" are unofficially reported from Moscow: Communist China in the UN, the withdrawal of all UN forces from the Korean Peninsula, and general elections throughout the country, both North and South, to elect a single government for the entire Peninsula. Russia obviously believes such a government would be Communist in character. If she is now willing to consider an armistice, it is probably because she had totally miscalculated the response of the US and the UN to the North Korean aggression. Russian Intelligence had apparently told Moscow that there would be no resistance except the feeble efforts of the South Koreans.

All governments make gigantic mistakes, but Soviet Russia would seem lately to have been breaking records in this regard. If she had not boycotted the UN, the resistance to North Korean aggression would have taken place just the same, but Russia might not be so isolated before the bar of world public opinion. Before the North Korean aggression, the UN was moving, and with some speed for such a ponderous body, toward either replacing the Chinese Nationalists by the Communists or, at the very least, declaring China's seat vacant for the present—not because of any love for Communism, but on the common-sense ground that any government which in fact controls a country should be the legal representative of that country. This is the point of view of the UN Charter, innumerable other international documents, and outstanding legal authorities throughout the world. Now, of course, the situation has worsened, with the Chinese Communists' threat to invade Formosa regardless of the American warning. It remains to be seen whether any peace formula can be evolved at this stage which will serve to end the Korean blood bath.

Whatever else the Korean affair may mean or lead to, it already has tended in Western Europe to confirm the opinion which has been growing since the autumn of 1948 that Asia is the front and Europe the rear of Kremlin's cold war. The key word in the propaganda in Europe is peace. The equivalent word in Asia is liberation. The relation between the two in Moscow's global strategy is the effort to use

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the Europeans' horror and hatred of war as a means of keeping the continent in a state of resistance of one kind or another to the military implications of Atlanticism; while at the same time using the Asiatics' appetite for national liberation, even at the cost of war, as a means of continental conquest.

In the light of this strategy, Western European liberals believe Italy's Palmiro Togliatti, the Kremlin's Number One man in the West, may have been right when he interpreted the events in Korea as meaning that time was on the side of Stalin. Togliatti was of course referring to Asia—the real front of the Russian cold war. And if he was right, it was precisely to the extent that America's total diplomacy has failed to take into account sufficiently the meaning of Russia's global strategy. Moscow could risk a world war in Korea because such a war would present America with the dangerous *fait accompli* in Europe not only of well-advanced Communist Fifth Columnism, but also of widespread neutralism and of extremely bad morale.

The London *New Statesman and Nation* was voicing the opinion of many liberals on the other side of the English Channel when it wrote:

> For far too long western statesmen have complacently argued that time was on their side and that our bargaining position would improve if we firmly refused to negotiate, strengthened our armaments and won a series of Cold War victories. Though this policy may be just possibly defensible in Europe, it totally disregards the realities of the Far Eastern situation. Here, the longer we wait, the more our positions of weakness multiply.

After a relatively short period of terrified breath-holding, European liberals recognized the Korean situation as merely starting a new—though perhaps a far more difficult and dangerous—phase in the old cold war. And they also recognized that on the Asian front of this war, as already on the European rear, the Russians were playing a game very much like heads I win, tails you lose.

In Europe, the heads part of the game amounts to a deliberate effort to create Fifth Columnism, neutralism and pacificism as ways of sabotaging MAP and Atlanticism. The tails part of the game means exploiting the repression of the sabotage to stimulate other forms, even more widely spread, of resistance to Atlanticism. The Communists try to drive the governments in countries like France and Italy toward reaction and police-statism, and thereby to identify US policy with warmongering and the denial of social and economic justice.

In Asia, the heads part of the game was open support of Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi-minh and Kim Il Sung; it reached its climax in the violation of the 38th Parallel. But the tails part of the game was exploitation of the arrest of the North Korean emissaries sent to Seoul to negotiate with Syngman Rhee, and also of the start of talks between General Douglas MacArthur and the Japanese on the question of permanent American bases in Japan. The North Koreans (and perhaps the Chinese Communists) may be defeated by the Americans, but the Russians can exploit the defeat as proving that they, and not the Americans, offer the only real hope for liberation from colonialism and oppression.

The Korean tragedy, the *New Statesman* believes, proves that:

> The attempt by the Western Powers to defeat the Russians solely by Cold War can only end in disaster. It is only too possible that the upshot of American action in Southern Korea will merely be to build what Secretary Acheson might properly call a "position of weakness"—that is, a strategic point which from a military point of view is hard to defend, and which is just as vulnerable to the ideological attack of Communism as the present regime of Syngman Rhee. It is refusal to attempt to reach agreement, on the basis of recognizing both the real power position and the dynamic of revolution in Asia, that has created a situation in which reckless gambles, like that in Korea, become only too likely. At the very least it must surely be true that if bargaining strength is achieved by the restoration of the status quo in Korea, it should be used for a more determined effort at a peaceful settlement.

The Manchester *Guardian* comments:

> The United States and Britain must not be manoeuvered into appearing to defend the established things in Asia, still less anachronistic things. The strength of the West lies in having a prescription for social and economic advance which is more humane and swifter than the Russian one. We must see to it that this prescription goes along with American arms.

In Western Europe, unfortunately, this prescription (in its form of guarantees to labor, for example, of the right to economic and social justice) has not quite gone along with the American arms being shipped to the Atlantic countries. Point Four for Asia is, in money terms, as yet only a drop in the bucket compared with Marshall Plan help for Europe. Yet the recent American stress on arms has so seriously impaired the good psychological effects of ECA that the new Queuille Cabinet in France was widely called (and not by the Communists) the "Korean Cabinet"; and the ballots cast in the National Assembly to put it into office were called "MacArthur's votes." The significance of these Gallicisms is that the new Cabinet has moved still farther toward the Right, and brought back into the government Paul Reynaud, who is Wall Street's fair-haired boy in France.

In Italy, Alcide de Gasperi took the Korean affair as the point of departure for a campaign against Fifth Columnism. "We must," he said, "oppose it with the most active propaganda in favor of the moral unity and the independence of the country." He also opposed it by authorizing Interior Minister Scelba to use the notorious Fast Squad more actively, and by letting Defense Minister Pacciardi play into the hands of the Fascists by announcing in the Chamber that Italy's armed forces had always (even as allies of Nazis) conducted themselves with honor and courage, and had never been defeated!

The "moral unity" which de Gasperi preaches is in fact a thinly-veiled common front with reviving Fascism; in France, the policies of the new Queuille government are efforts to give the country a reactionary de Gaullist government without Charles de Gaulle, who might be less easy than Reynaud for the Americans to handle.

If American policy on the European rear of the cold war is a precedent for policy of the Asiatic front, the prospect is far from good. If, on the other hand, the suggestions of the *Guardian*, the *New Statesman* and other enlightened organs of European opinion are taken, if MacArthur's last battle is really to be also the preface to a first battle for a policy of American liberation in Asia, then the American soldiers who have died in Korea's "little war" will have won more than those who died in the Second World War to save the world for democracy.

PERCY WINNER

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A LONG, TOUGH FIGHT

by Fletcher Pratt

IN THE STYLE to which we became rather unhappily accustomed during the war with Japan, General Douglas MacArthur's headquarters began the Korean business by intimating that with the help of our aviators and a couple of warships, the South Koreans would be able to straighten things out for themselves. Then the story was that a single division of American troops ought to be enough. Now, in spite of tightening censorship and a certain lack of candor in Tokyo, it is clear that even several divisions will be nowhere near enough, and we are embarked upon a military enterprise that is likely to go on for months, with quite unforeseeable consequences.

Whether any part of the present mess could have been avoided by wiser handling of political questions is a matter for specialists in that field. Korea is not now a political but a military problem, and a military problem that has not been handled very wisely. The failure to view the military problem realistically started with the quasi-political decision to train and arm the South Korean army as a semi-military police force. It was given nothing heavier than an obsolete type of 105 mm. howitzer, with no armor, airplanes or weapons capable of stopping a tank. The reasons—that the South Koreans themselves might get itchy trigger fingers if they had the means of making a war, and the heavy equipment might be lost to the Communists as it was in China—doubtless seemed adequate to Washington. But the result has been rather worse than if we gave them no equipment at all. The first lesson of our third war in 33 years is obviously that if we are going to give anything to nations faced by a unit so powerfully armed and aggressive as Russia and her satellites, we must give them everything.

It would also seem fairly obvious that the Central Intelligence Agency has nobly maintained its policy of making every possible blunder. It is hard to believe that if the intelligence organization had given adequate warning of the strength and character of the Communist build-up north of the 38th Parallel, our forces in the Far East would have been found so completely unprepared for the kind of competition they're facing. Reports of the fighting show that the first American troops had nothing better against the North Korean tanks than 105 howitzers and the bazooka of World War II vintage, and in the majority of cases these failed to penetrate. Some 155 Long Toms have been reported since, but a divisional complement of these weapons is only 18 guns, and this number is not going very far when the enemy has as many as 175 tanks in action, spread over a wide front. The few American tanks have been out-gunned and out-armored by the more powerful Russian machines.

Under the circumstances, the job of holding off the Communist tanks has devolved largely upon the Air Force, and the Air Force has shown itself just as badly prepared for its assignment as the infantry. Under the influence of the school of thought that found such a willing mouthpiece in W. Stuart Symington, the Air Force in the Far East prepared for almost nothing but its favorite scheme of strategic bombing, with B-29 long-range bombers and jet-fighters to gain control of the air. It is engaged in a contest where there are no strategic targets to bomb and where control of the air was conceded by the enemy from the beginning. Against ground targets the jets are nearly useless, both because of their short range and the fact that they shoot past so rapidly that they can get in only about nine shots at any ground target. Incidentally, the figures in the communiqués about North Korean tanks knocked out can be taken at a heavy discount; the last war showed how accurate aviators' reports of the damage they have done were, and in any case knocked-out tanks have a habit of coming to life again.

The net result is that the American ground troops in Korea have been fighting a World War III army with World War II weapons and, except for the operations of a few carrier planes, with very little of the kind of air support they really need. The F-51 Mustangs that might have helped are on this side of the Pacific because of Air Force policy; the 3.5 rockets that would make an impression on a Russian-type tank are also here; the General Patton tanks that would stand up to the enemy are in the factory and the new weapons that would dispose of any tank are on the drawing board.

The naval picture is not much better. The single carrier working off Korea can give only sporadic air support at the front, and the other carriers that might help are in our harbors and in mothballs. Two of our cruisers and one British cruiser have been in support of the operations, but they have not been enough to keep the North Koreans from making repeated amphibious landings on the coast—and again it will be a matter of many weeks before more can be placed in commission, shaken down and rushed to the area of conflict.

In spite of the Intelligence failure, the blame for most of this and for most of the lives lost lies at the door of

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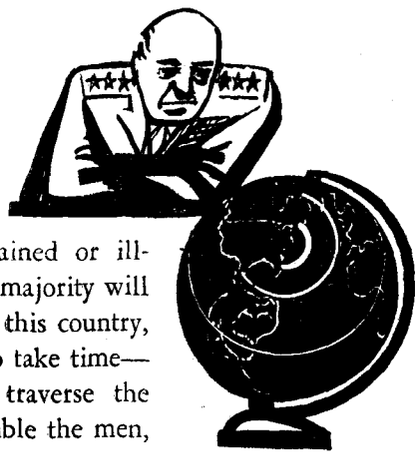
Louis Johnson, the greatest Secretary of Defense since Forrestal, and his drive to economize on military budgets at a time when the Russians were already spending four or five times as much as we and stepping up the pace.

In the meantime the Communist Koreans also have a huge numerical superiority, with five divisions already in action and at least as many more behind. The possibility of another Dunkirk or Bataan is therefore unpleasantly strong, and that would be a nasty business, since the North Koreans seem to have established the custom of shooting their prisoners. The point now in the balance is whether aerial assaults on their lines of communication can slow them up enough for reinforcements to arrive.

But even if this is the case, even if an adequate ring of defense around Pusan can be set up, there is a long and hard road before the campaign is over or decided. The Communists now have the moral advantage of early victories, and it is quite unlikely that they will collapse under bombing. Driving them out will be a matter of attack along the ground, and under the most favorable conditions it does not seem probable that it can be accomplished by less than six full divisions. The 24th, already in, has been taking it so hard that it will certainly need to be withdrawn and rested before it can take part in any counter-attack. General MacArthur can hardly spare more than one of his three remaining divisions from the occupation of Japan. Where are the other troops to come from?

The Korean action is a United Nations enterprise, and theoretically there are the armed forces of the free world to call upon. The Chinese Nationalists of Formosa have, indeed, offered troops up to the number of 30,000, which would be a tremendous help on a front collapsing from sheer lack of manpower. They are trained veterans, too; but acceptance of Chiang's offer has the major political objection that the use of Chinese Nationalist forces would be practically an invitation to the Chinese Communists to put in their troops on the other side. But the French have their hands full in Indo-China, the combined contributions of Australia, New Zealand and Canada can hardly amount to much more than one division, and the rest are far away, untrained or ill-equipped. The vast majority will have to come from this country, and that is going to take time—time not only to traverse the Pacific but to assemble the men, ammunition and supplies, prepare the shipping and loading. It took six weeks to launch the expedition against Guadalcanal in 1942, and that amounted to only a single division of troops, already in a forward area, already furnished with shipping, combat equipment and clothing; and it was, moreover, an operation rushed through in the most frantic haste after the Battle of Midway.



Suppose, for the sake of the computation, that this speed could be equaled in the current case, and suppose again that three divisions would turn out to be enough —one of the MacArthur units from Japan, the 2nd Infantry division, and the 1st Marine, which are the most readily available. After they land in Korea the campaign will only have begun. The trouble with trading space for time is that one has to use more time to get the space back again, and this particular space promises to be rather difficult to retake. It is good defensive country—as good as Italy, where the Germans were able to hold out for so long in the face of crushing Allied air superiority.

Now it does not do to be too pessimistic and it is possible that the North Koreans will begin to go to pieces as those on our side have done when things got tough, but so far they have shown evidence of good morale and very thorough Russian training. That first attack of theirs when they put 40 tanks and almost an entire division against a single under-strength American battalion and strong point, was a typical Soviet maneuver. It means that when our troops begin to advance, they will find that everything in sight has been mined, that the demolition will be on a scale that will make it practically essential to rebuild the country, and that guerrilla operations will be on a basis that will make it practically essential to go over every inch. It looks distinctly like a matter of months.

Behind this pattern of a dragged-out campaign lies the strong possibility that the Korean attack may represent only the opening move in a Russian plan to involve us on a wide scale in military operations against the satellites. The massing of troops along the Yugoslav border, the repeated Russian gestures in the direction of Iran, the fact that President Truman found it necessary to warn the Chinese Communists against attacking Formosa, all have the aspect of a developing general plan.

It may be that the Korean explosion was set off to test the reaction, and having found it both prompt and vigorous the Russians will now pull in their horns. The decision on this lies not in Washington but in Moscow and it is clear that the Soviets, through their satellites, have the military capacity to involve us and the rest of the free peoples in a long series of wars to which they need only furnish leadership and industrial backing.

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If the Balkan satellites jump Yugoslavia, the initial responsibility will doubtless be British, French and Italian, for the same reason we had to move first in Korea—geography. But we would probably have to help out there too, and Iran would certainly be part of our responsibility and Formosa almost wholly so.

To be sure, the strait that separates Formosa from the mainland is a hundred miles wide, Chiang has enough troops to stand off anything but a major landing, and the Chinese Communists have nothing with which they could make a major landing in the face of a couple of carrier groups operating in the strait. But the point is that we would have to put the carrier groups in there; the point is that we will have to put more troops into Korea and keep them there for a long time; the point is that the Russians have found a method of producing world disturbance and holding up recovery from the effects of the last war to an almost indefinite date.

WASHINGTON IS TOO VULNERABLE

by Ray M. Stroupe

THE United States Government does not expect the fighting in Korea to turn into a third world war. If such a war should start, our officials do not believe that Rusian planes carrying atom bombs would be able to get through to Washington and drop them on the Capital.

Nevertheless, much thought is being given in Washington to the possibility of decentralizing the government offices on the Potomac. The reasons, which branch out in several directions, are interesting.

The official policy of the United States is now to encourage cities everywhere to decentralize as much as possible, for reasons which apply both to peace and war. Industrial plants which produce, or could produce, military supplies, are being urged to move inland, away from the vulnerable coasts. This national campaign would obviously go forward faster if the federal government practised what it preaches.

Needless to say, if an atomic or hydrogen bomb should ever drop on Washington, it would do enormous damage to our ability to resist. Conceivably we could find ourselves without a functioning national government in any of its branches. Such a situation would add enormously to the paralysis, if only a temporary one, that could be caused by similar acts of war throughout the country.

For this possibility, atomic or super-atomic bombs are only partly to blame. Urban congestion, which clogs our streets with automobiles and piles up people in one spot, is daily making our big cities more vulnerable to attack even by "old-fashioned" bombs. Several years ago Senator Alexander Wiley (R, Wis.) pointed out that Washington was growing faster than the average of all the metropolitan areas in the country and had a higher density of population—1,745.8 per square mile as compared with the national figure of 1,411. Wiley recommended that committees drawn from Congress and the Executive Branch should work together to plan for decentralization. He suggested that Congress try to devise plans for "meeting by television" and that "the best brains in the land" be mobilized to develop them.

Representative Paul Cunningham (R, Iowa) suggested that the seat of government be moved from Washington to Des Moines. By no coincidence, Representative Cunningham comes from Des Moines. Then he made a less political suggestion:

> Why don't we elect alternates to each national office in which the incumbent is placed by popular vote? We could choose an alternate President and Vice President and alternates for each Senator and Representative. The appointive posts could still be chosen by the Chief Executive. The important thing is to have people ready to work, no matter where the national capital is located.

Another man who thinks an alternate capital should be chosen is Representative Chet Holifield (D, Calif.). He has introduced a bill creating a seven-man commission to plan for continuing the government in case of heavy destruction in war. Its members would be the Secretary of Defense, one Senator, one Representative, one Supreme Court Justice and one man each from the National Security Council, National Security Resources Board and the Atomic Energy Commission. The last three of the members of the Commission would be named by the President.

The Commission's job would be to find a safe site for the capital, to work on the problem of transporting and maintaining personnel, and to decide what records would need to be moved. His bill is said to have the support of the Pentagon.

W. Stuart Symington, new head of the National Security Resources Board, is a strong advocate of decentralization of industry. Under him is Paul J. Larsen as head of the Civilian Mobilization Office, which presumably would have much to do with relocating the Capital.

Various government departments have been reported to be planning details for moving personnel and records, but obviously such piecemeal planning is almost useless.

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Some over-all agency must decide, in the first place, what bureaus should be moved, and where.

The current thinking in Washington on this whole general question may be summarized as follows:

Congress and the Supreme Court should be moved at least 500 miles from the Eastern seaboard, and the same distance from the Great Lakes. The Court, the Senate and the House should be in three different cities. The area considered safe would be defined by a line from Louisville to Lincoln, Nebraska, then to Denver, Dallas, Memphis and back to Louisville. These cities are themselves considered safe, and this is also true of others within the approximate triangle thus created, such as Kansas City, St. Louis, Oklahoma City, Tulsa and Little Rock. Some government bureaus of lesser importance in wartime could use cities outside the triangle but nearby, such as Atlanta, Birmingham, Nashville, Fort Worth, Phoenix and Salt Lake.

For the storage of vital records, the Ozarks of Arkansas and Missouri are suggested. Warehouses of the bunker type, camouflaged and dug into the hillside, would afford permanent storage space, usable in peace as well as war. Microfilmed records would greatly reduce the amount of space involved.

For the Department of Defense, sites are suggested near Kansas City or Denver; one near Denver seems to possess certain advantages. It would be connected by special, well-guarded telephone and television cables to the sites occupied by Congress and the President.

Foreign embassies and ministries now located in Washington represent a special problem. It is essential that in time of war we should keep intact our links with the official spokesmen of our allies or of the neutral states—if any. Since moving these diplomats would present so many difficulties, one school of thought proposes that the President, the Department of State and the foreign diplomats should remain in Washington, safeguarded as completely as possible against air or surface attack. A secondary set of installations might be set up in the nearby Appalachians, for use if there were sufficient warning of attack to permit a transfer.

It is felt that if Congress were moved to two cities inside the security triangle that is defined above, plans for an alternate President and Vice President would not be necessary. It is assumed that the Vice President would move with the Senate, over which he presides. He could carry on if the President were unable for any reason to fulfill his duties. If the Vice President were incapacitated, some part, at least, of Congress would presumably remain to appoint successors to his post and any others that were vacant.

If the government were thus moved inland, a particular morale problem would exist among citizens along the coasts and borders of the country, who might feel that our defensive measures were being concentrated too much inside the security triangle. It would be necessary to reassure them, by the use of every propaganda technique available, that our borders were being protected as thoroughly as possible.

THE NEW SOUTH HAS OLD PROBLEMS

by A. G. Mezerik

THE SOUTH is enjoying prosperity; its people are better fed, clothed and sheltered than since the Civil War. While the region is still very far from parity in income with the rest of the country, the gains have been large enough to warrant rejoicing. However, there are flies in the ointment —old and tough flies.

Consider the present series of primary elections, every one of which has been fought exclusively on the race issue. Talmadge in Georgia rode to glory and the governorship shouting, "Nigger, Nigger!" Another of the old guard coined his own wonderful version of this when he ranted, "I won't stand for Negroes and whites segregatin' together." Senator Claude Pepper was defeated largely on that issue. Senator Frank Graham was forced into a run-off and subsequent defeat in North Carolina, the most emancipated state in the South. And this happened despite the lamentable fact that the hitherto valiant Dr. Graham and Senator Pepper, along with all the other candidates on the side of the angels, did a heap of compromising of principles while campaigning.

The issue of equality for the Negro is still the big one, and he who says he stands for that equality, but talks out of the other side of his mouth during campaigns, will get just as badly beaten as he who carries through on his principles. Would Senator Pepper have gone down to a worse defeat if he had not equivocated? Many here say not, and point out that, by running backward so hard, Pepper demoralized the very forces who must go forward to carry on the fight.

The truth is that the old reactionary Southern leaders had won a psychological victory before they won their victories at the polls. By harping on the Negro issue, they dissuaded the Peppers throughout the South into ignoring the evidence of new strength on the progressive side. Prosperity, relative if not absolute, has come to the Negro as well as to the white.

With money in his pockets, the Negro finds himself

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the object of the competitive solicitude of merchants everywhere throughout the South. In the best stores, Negro women are trying on hats and handing them to white women who want to do the same. Respect for the fact that the dollar, along with the Negro, may go and trade somewhere else, has made more beneficial changes than a good many other more idealistically-motivated movements. Negroes, now that their relatives have money, can and do move away from regions where they have been underpaid and badly treated, and this has also made a huge difference. In southern Alabama a new spirit of consideration is apparent, since what was once a majority of the population is now an almost too small labor force.

The Negroes are achieving equality and if their white politician friends won't carry on the fight with them, they are able, willing and determined to carry it on for themselves. A whole string of Supreme Court decisions has convinced them that with some money and lots of militancy they will eventually win the day. The Supreme Court decisions are stepping-stones for them; in the next few months they will file suit after suit in every Southern state, until—as in Kentucky—they break down the barrier marked with that contemptible legal fiction—"Separate and Equal." Only recently one of the smaller barriers gave way. At Norris Dam, ever since the beautiful power station was built, visitors had been greeted by two sets of drinking fountains labeled, in the characteristic supremacist phrase, "Colored" and "White." At long last the labels have been removed. For many people in the region, those fountains now stand as symbols of what can be accomplished.

The fight against segregation is at present keenest in the field of education, and on this front the reactionaries, frightened by a series of Supreme Court decisions, have tried to retreat but not to capitulate. They have come up with a diversionary tactic which has fooled a good many well-intentioned people of both races. This one is called regional education.

When I saw the idea at work in the West, where they had copied it from the South—but with the emphatic difference of adopting it without any thought of segregation—I deemed it an excellent idea. Poor states pool their funds and set up professional and graduate facilities to which students from all the states in the region can come. I went South prepared to applaud this effort of the nation's poorest regions to solve their educational problems by pitching in together to make their money go farther.

My approbation deepened when the TVA people told me that as far as possible they were integrating their training programs and the use of their technical libraries into the program. It all seemed fine to me, except that I could not quite bring into focus the fact that behind it was the Conference of Southern Governors, presently headed by Governor Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, who ran for President on the Dixiecrat racist platform. Vaguely, I knew that the origin of the whole idea of regional education was conceived in sin—designed by the Governors to circumvent the segregation issue. I went to the Negro community in Atlanta to learn what they thought about it.

No confusion in their minds. Said Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College, "The purpose of segregation is to keep the Negro in an inferior position. Otherwise it has no meaning at all. If seven states pool their funds to support or build a segregated college for Negroes, that college will be just as inferior to the college supplied for the whites as it has been when one state paid for it." That, for me, is certainly an incontrovertible argument. "If," other Negro leaders have observed, "the idea of regional education is to make money go further, then why set up two school systems? If both school systems were equal, wouldn't that cost twice as much?" The questions answer themselves: either the facilities won't be equal or they won't be economical.

I had one other doubt and it was raised by the fact that Negro educational institutions are already participating in the regional program. Meharry, the medical school, and Tuskegee have both signed contracts. With Aubrey Williams, publisher of the *Southern Farmer*, I went to Tuskegee to attend a session of a Rural Life Conference which had the theme, "The Changing Status of the Negro." There, from right to left, and including every participant but Williams, who opposes segregation in general and the regional plan in particular, I got the answer to my question.

The old Booker T. Washington idea of Negro improvement inside the pattern of segregation is still strong. So strong that not one scheduled participant in the session which I attended mentioned the theme or the word "segregation." Negroes and whites kept saying that neither education, farming nor anything else is a Negro or a white problem and proceeded to talk about "methods" and "techniques." A day on that campus painfully convinced me that segregation has created some vested interests—Negro as well as white —which would be badly hurt were it to disappear.

However, segregation is the South's root question and it will not down. It pervades nearly every activity and it is being fought on nearly every front. Very recently the Atlanta papers have finally yielded to the never ceasing demand that, when referring to Negroes, they prefix their names with Mr., Mrs. or Miss, just as they have always done with whites. Though this marks a step forward, the Negroes are dissatisfied with both the rate of improvement and the quality and

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amount of news devoted to them. Unless more changes for the better occur, the newspapers, to which Negroes now subscribe in sizable numbers, will be boycotted.

Among the whites who should have recognized long ago that segregation is the issue of the South are the trade unions. Largely because the CIO refused to face up to this issue, the much advertised Southern Organizing Drive was one of the costliest flops in labor's history. Now that the drive has been reorganized under a new director (its third), let's look at the connection between the failure of the CIO and the issue of segregation.

From the beginning, the CIO evaded the race issue in every state but Tennessee, where its state director, Paul Christopher, insisted that there be no segregation in the local unions. Since the CIO undertook to organize the South during the period of its greatest prosperity, employers—especially in textiles, the largest industry—simply moved their wage scales above union demands as long as the organizers were on the scene. It is true that by its pressure the CIO thus indirectly brought wage gains to the workers, but it is equally true that the workers remained largely unorganized. What was missing was an ingredient to which the South could respond with native evangelical fervor. To undertake a crusade would have meant a long uphill job, particularly since the crusade would necessarily have had as its key issue the abolition of segregation. But any gains which resulted would have been real, not illusory. A sound, if small, corps of dependable and informed workers would now exist.

Industry is largely unorganized and, even worse, where it has been organized, in textiles and in other industries, the KKK has become the dominant group in many local unions, building and holding its strength on its anti-Negro position. In Birmingham, the big local of the steelworkers—Murray's own union—is dominated by the Klan. The union hall, owned by the local, has for a long time been used by the KKK for its weekly meetings. In Atlanta, a big UAW local and a steel local are similarly under Klan rule. So close together have the Klan and the CIO moved that KKK chiefs have gone so far as to send word to CIO leaders that they would have no objection to the CIO coming into a Klan-dominated plant provided the union would not challenge their leadership! While this kind of flagrant offer has been refused, the very fact that it can be made is indicative of the atmosphere that prevails throughout the Deep South.

CIO chiefs in Washington have finally awakened to the damage which has been done to the union cause, which accounts for Phil Murray's recent statements opposing segregation. A resolution introduced not long ago by the incoming director of the CIO Southern drive, John Riffe, is along the same lines. But these are words which neither the Klan nor the Negroes have yet heard. And even if they do hear them, neither group will get excited until they are followed by forthright action against every form of segregation.

A vital trade-union movement is an obvious necessity in this South which has moved so rapidly in the last few years toward industrialization. Without an educational and progressive labor movement the great changes brought by industrialization will result only in aimless drifting into social blind allies. This will stymie farmers as well as workers; factories are not only urbanizing the South but are forcing a change in the agricultural pattern. Every pound of nylon or rayon displaces a pound or more of cotton, and cotton is still the South's big cash crop. That the screws have not already been tightened is largely due to the crazy-quilt pattern of government subsidies, which provides a guaranteed market at a high price for cotton, whether or not it is needed, and in spite of the fact that it is ruinous to the soil. To get this guaranteed profit, some farmers who had, after a long process of education, reclaimed eroded lands by building seeded pasture lands, have actually torn up those green fields to sow cotton once again.

In the face of the growing use of synthetics like nylon, subsidies which do not cut cotton acreage to the bone have about the same meaning and usefulness as subsidies on buggies. Because this is true, subsidies on the present scale cannot last and probably will not survive beyond the period of ECA purchases. When that prop is pulled, cotton and that other great Southern cash crop, tobacco, promise a drop which may hurt the South and the whole nation.

Meanwhile industrialization has increased mightily—though not in heavy industry. With it has come an increase in Northern control, since most of the large plants are owned by du Pont, Union Carbide, Eastman or some other Northern giant. This absentee ownership, always a serious drag on the South both economically and politically, manifests itself just now in the opposition of the Big Four packers to a Southern meat-packing industry, essential to the success of the great movement into livestock which now characterizes progressive Southern agriculture. An earlier result of Northern control was to raise the price to the South of Northern-made products, a situation that will be perpetuated by the recent defeat of the rail-rate case, initiated in such an atmosphere of hope by Ellis Arnall when he was Georgia's liberal Governor. The already high cost of living has been aggravated also by the inordinate haste with which Southern states have abolished rent control. It's the New South, all right; but it still has a surprising look of the Old South about it.

Atlanta

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Alaska's Natives Need Help*

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE are distracted today with war and rumors of war. Perhaps because of that very fact, another attempt is now being made to rob the natives of Alaska. Without the knowledge of the Interior Department, a sneak amendment to the Alaska Statehood Bill has been adopted by the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee of the Senate. If the bill passes, this "Jesse James" amendment will assure that no more Indian reservations shall be set up in Alaska until the people of the territory have written a constitution and Congress has passed upon it. The excuse for this cowardly attack upon the property rights of the natives is that it will put an end to "Communist propaganda [which compares] Indian reservations to concentration camps."

Thus, we propose to commit a grave injustice because of a Communistic taunt that is completely false. In making their charge, the Communists lie just as they do when they say that we provoked the war in Korea. Perhaps what the committee really wants to do is to give a basis for the graver charge that we continue to oppress our minority groups, even going so far as to steal property and to trample on the rights of the Alaska natives, despite the terms of our treaty of purchase with Russia. That treaty said:

> The inhabitants of the ceded territory, according to their choice . . . may return to Russia within three years; but if they should prefer to remain in the ceded territory, they, with the exception of uncivilized native tribes, shall be admitted to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities that citizens of the United States have, and shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion.

The amended Statehood Bill is in flagrant violation of this treaty. The white inhabitants of Alaska, to say nothing of the highly prosperous fishing, mining and pulp interests, will not fail to take the hint that this amendment affords, and will withhold permanently from the Indians the right to create additional reservations, or perhaps even to retain those they now have.

When Alaska became US territory, the natives, as had their forefathers before them, held property as tribes. Reservation property in Alaska is held coöperatively, according to the Indians' conception of how to own and enjoy property. The purpose of the act passed under the Roosevelt Administration was to enable the Alaska natives to protect their property rights according to the intent of the treaty between Russia and the United States. The first reservation set up under the Roosevelt policy has worked successfully, despite the efforts of former Secretary Krug and certain members of his staff to raid it for the pulp interests.

In later elections, the Indians have been confused. The fishing, lumber and other interests, and certain controlled local newspapers, have devoted money and effort to making them that way. White officials, including Governor Ernest Gruening and Commissioner Edward Lewis Bartlett, the Alaska delegate to Congress, have made reckless and misleading statements about the harmful effect upon the natives' property and political status of setting up reservations. In fact, these reservations are the only available means by which the immemorial rights of the natives can be safeguarded against the white man's encroachments.

During Secretary Krug's tenure, he and some of his cronies, instead of protecting the Indians, supported efforts to despoil them—including the native Alaskans—in a wholesale way. But even Krug apparently repented of his sins before resigning, under pressure from President Truman. He signed five orders that had been lying on his desk for many months, setting up reservations which the Indians might accept or reject at specially-called free elections. One new reservation, affecting the Hydaburg Indians, was adopted by an overwhelming vote. Two others failed, thanks to Governor Gruening and Delegate Bartlett, aided and abetted by certain Assistant Secretaries of Interior and employees in the Indian Office, including the Superintendent for Alaska. Here is a scandalous example of trampling upon minority rights, which will not be lost upon those who never miss a chance to point out our derelict behavior toward racial minorities.

If this Statehood Bill should pass in its present form, it is to be hoped that President Truman will veto it, acting as he has done on other occasions to prevent injustice to Alaska natives. There has been too much skulduggery within the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee in recent years with respect to the Indians. One trouble is that the committee is too sensitive to the wire-pulling of one of its employees, one Albert A. Grorud. This man should be dismissed; Indians everywhere in the United States owe it to themselves to insist that he be handed his hat. It is not going too far to say that probably no one ever connected with a Congressional committee as an employee has done more to thwart efforts to improve the status of the American Indians than this man, who came to Washington originally hanging to the coattails of former Senator Burton K. Wheeler. That he has managed to cling to his job, considering his performances, is one of the wonders of Washington.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

KRAVCHENKO AND THE FRENCH PUBLIC

by Alexander Werth

NO ONE unfamiliar with the complex psychology of Western Europe, and especially of France, can understand the finer shades and the real significance of the libel action brought by Victor Kravchenko in January-April, 1949, against *Les Lettres Françaises* and the Communist writers who had publicly accused him of being a liar and of not being the author of *I Chose Freedom*. It is my impression that, apart from his understandable desire to represent the famous law case in the light most favorable to himself, Kravchenko himself had no real understanding of French mentality. What he has written in *I Chose Justice* is an extremely simplified account of *"l'affaire Kravchenko"*—an account in which everything is black and white and which ends in what he calls a "catastrophe" for the Kremlin and for world Communism.

I CHOSE JUSTICE, by Victor Kravchenko (Scribner's; $3.75).

In reality, there were some good reasons why he was awarded, not the $15,000 damages he had claimed, but $500—a sum still further reduced as a result of the defendants' appeal. He dismisses the very small award as totally unimportant; yet it was important in showing that the French court did not judge Kravchenko's case to be overwhelmingly deserving or the behavior of his opponents totally wicked. In passing its verdict, the court made allowances for the fact that the defendants had an admirable Resistance record and that they might legitimately have been shocked by Kravchenko's deserting his post on the Soviet Trade Mission in the United States in April, 1944, and therefore playing—unconsciously, to be sure—into the hands of Nazi propaganda.

On the questions of whether Kravchenko had himself written *I Chose Freedom* and whether all that it contained was true, the verdict of the court was more reserved than Kravchenko makes out in his book; the most the verdict said was that Morgan and Wurmser had not produced sufficient evidence to show that Kravchenko was a liar, and had thus failed to prove their case. While it described as "ingenious" the arguments advanced to show that Kravchenko had not written *I Chose Freedom*, the court could not take these into account, since the facts on which they were based were unknown to the defendants at the time they perpetrated their libels. The impression one received from the verdict was that, although Kravchenko had written large parts of his book, it had been heavily edited by other hands. Where the defendants were wrong was in saying that he had not written the book "at all," and in claiming that he was "incapable" of writing any of it.

So much for the formal side of the verdict—which, incidentally, Kravchenko quotes in an extremely condensed and expurgated form. The verdict consisted, in fact, of three separate decisions, running to some 6,000 or 7,000 words, and scrupulously enumerating the pros and cons. Kravchenko's "digest" is nothing more than a few quotations from this verdict, all favorable to himself.

Apart from the law, there are deeper psychological reasons why the case was not the stupendous success that Kravchenko would have us believe. On the face of it, everything favored him from the start. The French press was 90-percent "pro-Kravchenko." The authorities who supplied him with a passport made out to "Paul Kedrin," on which he traveled from the US to Paris, and the French government, which took every measure to assure the trial the maximum world publicity, did their best to make the Kravchenko case a notable episode in the cold war. The French took the unprecedented and—strictly speaking—illegal step of installing a dozen press telephones outside the courtroom, although, according to French law, actions for libel cannot normally be reported in the press.

Yet as the trial progressed, the feeling grew in Paris that, as a political demonstration, the whole affair was a little too blatant and rather distasteful. It savored too much of a grandiose publicity stunt. It was true that the USSR was coming out of it rather badly. While the evidence of the witnesses was contradictory, it was still clear to all that there was a substantial basis of truth to Kravchenko's stories about the Soviet secret police. On the other hand, considering Russia's stupendous war effort of 1941-45, the contention that Russia was nothing but a gigantic slave camp struck many as a gross exaggeration calculated to revive the colossus-on-feet-of-clay theory, with its obvious and dangerous international implications.

Kravchenko's boastful claim that he had come to France to fight French Communism, like so many other things he said, struck a jarring note. Even opinion totally hostile to the Soviets felt increasingly that this was an interference in French internal affairs. Then, too, Kravchenko's personality struck even many of his—politically—wholehearted supporters as *antipathique*. He was noisy, crude and vulgar; the role of Defender of Human Right and Democracy seemed incongruous. At times his behavior in court was downright clownish.

I Chose Justice reports the case as Kravchenko would have liked it reported; it produces an impression very different from that given by the verbatim account published by La Jeune Parque and other French publishers while the news was still hot. But the fact that *l'affaire Kravchenko* was not, so far as French public opinion is concerned, the startling success that Kravchenko implies is best seen from a careful study of French newspapers, books and magazines in the last year. These clearly show that the case was no great help to anti-Soviet propaganda. Kravchenko is rarely mentioned, for the rea-

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son that it is no longer considered "serious" to regard him as an authority on Russia. His legal battle did much to put an end to the "Kravchenko" type of anti-Soviet propaganda. The French Communists are, in fact, rather disturbed about it. It was fairly easy to fight such crude propaganda. What they have to contend with now is what they themselves call "neo-anti-Communism," *i.e.*, a more convincing form of attack in which the economic and other achievements of the Soviet system, far from being denied (as they are by Kravchenko) are weighed against the ruthless and inhuman aspects of the regime. More than anything else, the Paris lawsuit convinced public opinion that "Kravchenkoism" was *vieux jeu*, an oversimple inversion of Russian anti-capitalist propaganda and unworthy of Westerners endowed with the gift of intellectual freedom and minds of their own.

Alexander Werth, a regular contributor to the New Statesman and Nation (London) and the Manchester Guardian, is the author of France in Ferment, Leningrad and many other books.

PICARESQUE OF FAITH

IN SEARCH: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, by Meyer Levin (Horizon Press; $3.50).

MEYER LEVIN'S autobiography is a better book than either its publicity or its reviews would indicate. The publicity is unfortunate because it stresses the fact that almost every publishing house in New York turned the manuscript down, presumably because the publishers feared libel suits by some of the people whom Levin handles rather roughly. But this is an irrelevant phase of the book. If you read it for its "dynamite" and for the "dirt" about various publishers, editors and authors (Levin has an irritating way of giving a thin disguise to his victims by changing their names according to a logic I have not been able to fathom), then you will be disappointed. Some reviewers have stressed the author's chip-on-the-shoulder Jewishness, but that, although true, shouldn't put you off him.

The crux of the book is not its mood or its manner, its "dynamite" or its "lowdown"; the crux is that it is an effort at honest autobiography by a novelist who has roots in America, in the Jewish tradition and in Israel, and who tries to assess the hold of each of them upon him and develop some kind of three-way synthesis. *In Search* can be read on one level as an experience and adventure story, and the chapters on the Memorial Day Massacre, the Spanish Civil War, World War Two and the war in Israel are as good as any of the correspondents' books which the past decade has produced so abundantly. Levin has a swift, economical and unpretentious style, but he also has the inner eye which relates the outer event to the psychic demands of a devouring heart, and it is on this level that the book achieves a quality beyond the slack, the slick and the sleek products of our publishing houses.

In Search is a modern picaresque of faith—the story of a Chicago boy who seems to have started with a scar on his heart because he was an alien Jew in a Christian America, and found himself fluctuating between flight from his Jewishness and an over-assertion of it. There is no question that Levin was "over-sensitive" to his Jewishness, whether in flight or in militancy, but it is exactly this over-sensitivity that makes the material of literature. His experiences with publishers who asked him to change the names of some of the characters in his novel so that they would sound less Jewish, or to change the subject matter so as to make it more "American" will awaken echoes in the memories of other writers. His experiences with a magazine called *Ken* and its executives, intermingled with the Spanish War and the Little Steel strike, the WPA Theatre and the Popular Front, are the stuff that good novels are made of—if the novelists know how to make them good. But the episode in which a magazine editor, after having had trouble with the Catholics because of the war in Spain, changed Levin's signature to a film review from Meyer Levin to Patterson Murphy, would be rejected by any self-respecting novelist as incredible.

From a canvas crowded with telling detail I pick three episodes I shall not easily forget. One is the story of how Levin wrote one of his novels in a nudist camp outside of Chicago, and how everything went well until the nudists discovered that a friend visiting him was Jewish. Levin fought back, and finally won by a narrow vote margin. The picture of a nudist town meeting sitting in solemn conclave to decide whether they would accept or reject Jews could not have been bettered even in the Hollywood fantasies of Nathanael West and Evelyn Waugh. The second episode—and in many ways the heart of the book—is Levin's melancholy yet passionate odyssey through the crematoria of Europe as a correspondent with the US Army. By that time he knew what he was searching for—his link not only with the pulverized dead and the ghastly living, but along with them his link with the whole Jewish past. The third episode is the story of how Levin and his wife made the documentary film about the Jewish underground to Palestine, "The Illegals," and how in the course of it he got an inkling of the meaning of the Jewish future.

The book closes with some philosophical reflections about the need for better understanding between the Jewish community in America and the Jewish state in Israel. Having his roots in both, Levin wants to help build a bridge between them. As philosophical reflections go, they are a healthy antidote both to the anti-Zionists and the Israel-worshiping groups among Jews in America today. But the strength of the book lies not in any solutions that Levin thinks he has discovered (actually there are many knots neither he nor we can untie now), but in the earnestness and candor of the quest itself.

MAX LERNER

MEXICO UPDATED

MEXICO: THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND BREAD, by Frank Tannenbaum (Alfred A. Knopf; $3.50).

TO THE MANY Americans groping for an understanding of the "why" of today's threats to Western civilization, Professor Frank Tannenbaum's *Mexico: The Struggle for Peace and Bread*, will come as a timely book whose value lies in its attempt to tell "how Mexico got that way."

The approach is refreshing after the many Mexican histories that have been content to deal too much with essentially peripheral affairs—the adventures and fates of dictators, bandit chieftains, politicians and border raiders. Without undue emphasis on purely economic

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factors, Professor Tannenbaum exposes a set of deeper problems, among them the Mexican theory of property and of labor, the relations between Church and State, education and land reform.

The picture turns out to be quite different from the one most of us have gained through press and propaganda descriptions of Mexico's revolutions. The author has accomplished the extraordinary feat of writing about Mexico's last and present revolutions without once employing the words "Communist" or "Communism." The omission may not be entirely justified, but it surely indicates an original viewpoint at a time when it has become easier to blame social difficulties on Communist propaganda than to face the sometimes embarrassing facts of economic and social injustice on which that propaganda is based.

Professor Tannenbaum is critical of some of the directions which the Mexican revolution has taken. Thus he deplores the corruption of much of Mexican officialdom; he doubts that the present passion for industrialization will entirely meet Mexico's social and economic needs and he confesses "with sorrow that both the zeal and the faith have largely departed from Mexico, and a mood of cynicism has taken hold of the country."

I should have preferred a little more vehemence. There is no more tragic spectacle than a social revolution that has lost its original impulse and has degenerated into a simple vehicle for the material advancement of its practitioners and heirs. This is true of too much of Mexican leadership today.

Professor Tannenbaum has written a highly instructive chapter on Mexican-American relations in which he has not spared the outrageous conduct of Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson during the Madero regime, nor failed to draw a sharp and encouraging contrast between those days and the development of FDR's good-neighbor policy.

The book is a valuable contribution to knowledge of the essential undercurrents of Mexican life and history which must be faced honestly, both by Mexicans and Americans, if the two countries really are to understand each other. It is unfortunate that we do not have similar studies of many of the other trouble spots of today's restless world.

ALEXANDER H. UHL

Alexander H. Uhl is former Foreign Editor of the newspaper PM and spent many years in Europe as correspondent for the Associated Press. He has been specializing in foreign-affairs reporting in Washington.

FICTION THERAPY

THE WORLD OF FICTION, by Bernard DeVoto (Houghton Mifflin; $3.50).

"THE WORLD OF FICTION" is offered as analysis of the relationship between a novelist and his audience. It does this directly only for perhaps a third of the book, but since this portion forms the author's specific subject and the material most challenging to criticism, it deserves first and chief consideration.

To DeVoto, the novelist is always the autobiographer. His only hero is himself, and his only story is his own. All the struggles and conflicts he creates echo his inner torments, and form symbolic resolutions. Literature becomes his means to heal the wounds dealt him by life, to take vengeance on his enemies, to be adored by those who spurned him, and to reincarnate those dear ones he has lost. It also provides a self-therapy: it releases in a language bearable to his conscious mind what would otherwise torture him with nightmare and drive him into some private inner world. The reader gains a corresponding catharsis. He participates through projection in murders, bankruptcies and other unpleasantnesses without jeopardy to conscience or purse. He is permitted the forbidden, the impossible. The novelist becomes the Santa Claus of his unconscious. The love-starved spinster leaves her book psychically gratified and yet physiologically intact. The clergyman can revel in crime, but still bless his flock with pure hands on Sunday morning. Thus, both reader and writer gain the experience without the spiritual loss; they call the tune without paying the piper.

It seems fair to say that DeVoto turns people into patients. Psychoanalysis, as described here, is not a method of treating sick minds, but a philosophy of life and a definition of the human mind. If the point of view of which this book is an example continues to grow as it has in the past, we shall all be so divided against ourselves, so hopelessly hobbled by the narrowest and most destructive kind of introspection, that our dignity and integrity as people will be utterly lost.

Three strong, specific criticisms can be leveled against DeVoto's assertions. He is unquestionably entitled to impose modern psychiatric strictures on his conception of the reader-writer relationship; but how meaningful are these strictures? Could we believe, for instance, that *Don Quixote* was perpetrated in response to Cervantes' pathologic motivations? Was any book ever less morbid, less personal, more "objective," more generous? And if readers turn to the Spanish knight for vicarious relief from mental disorders, then why don't they prefer novels less repetitive, grimmer, more violent, richer in supercharged family and personal relationships? This makes clear DeVoto's first error: his psychology is almost exclusively one of the abnormal, the diseased. It slurs over sympathy, love, gratitude, the joy men take in life and their world.

The second fault is his sweeping use of the word "autobiography." That writers draw upon personal experience, their own range of character and the pressure of their circumstances, is self-evident. "Autobiography" merely restates this: when its definition is enlarged to encompass everything an author has done, felt or thought, a tautology is reached. Finally, the argument on the merits of literature again presupposes negative ends. It assumes that one reads to resolve emotional conflicts; or, at any rate, it assumes that the desire to enrich one's mind, to broaden one's intellectual view, can be detached from the satisfaction that occurs when Ulysses defeats the suitors. If we do read substantially from motives of abnormal psychology, we also certainly read in part from other motives, and the distinction DeVoto forms between these two—a tenuous one, at best—may apply in his argument but has only and exclusively a verbal meaning. For the mind is not divisible, except in theory.

After some digressions—there's an interesting chapter on Mark Twain's sufferings when his daughter died—the later and larger continents of *The World of Fiction* embrace a long discussion of the novel's form and technical

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devices. The author resumes his favorite war against Thomas Wolfe, describes the novel's growth from Cervantes to J. P. Marquand, offers some warm rhapsodies on the craft, and then explores the subtler details of creating effects. The reader will, perhaps, gain some knowledge of the methods used by some writers; but many people who earn their keep by their pen will wish DeVoto had not so carefully undressed their art. He makes the novelist somewhat too intellectual and calculated.

The difficulty in appraising this book is that it is not a study nor an argument but a point-of-view, a series of personal convictions tied together by much experience, some logic, and boundless fervor. To dismiss it or acclaim it is not a matter of rigorous thought but of the sentimental attachment one may or may not form to the author.

CHARLES SPIELBERGER

Charles Spielberger's short stories have appeared in the Yale Review and Partisan Review.

BRIEF COMMENT

The Question of Lay Analysis, by Sigmund Freud. With a Foreword by Ernest Jones. Translated by Nancy Proctor-Gregg (W. W. Norton; $2.50).

This essay supporting lay analysis was written by Freud some twenty-five years ago in connection with legislation on the subject then being discussed in Austria. Since that time different countries have decided the matter in different ways, but in America it continues to be an unsettled, and unsettling, question. This first translation of Freud's views on the subject is therefore both pertinent and enlightening.

Since an opinion on who should practise psychoanalysis must be based on an understanding of what is involved, Freud, using the Socratic device, takes the reader from the abacus to the algebra of psychoanalytic theory. He explains that in the context of this therapy, "A patient is not like other patients, a layman is not strictly speaking a layman, and physicians not precisely what one is entitled to expect in this connection." Freud always maintained, and here emphasizes, that psychoanalysis belongs primarily to psychology and only incidentally to medicine. He believed that the fresh insights the new discipline provided for cultural anthropology, education, child development and social problems risked strangulation at the hands of pure medicine. He felt also that to limit analysis to doctors would confine its achievements to the more highly developed fraction of the theory useful in the treatment of neurotics. Even in this context, a medical doctor was essential only for the diagnosis of the neurosis and for indicated interim medical treatment, if any. Since medical treatment is not a part of the analytic process itself, Freud held that coöperation between medical doctors and analysts was sufficient and that medical degrees for the latter were not necessary.

Freud believed that analysts needed training in only some of the subjects taught in medical schools. But his curriculum includes the fields of cultural anthropology, literature and sociology as well as a deep analysis for every analyst and much supervision of therapeutic technique by experienced practitioners. Without such training, no analyst would be worth the cost of his couch, medical degree or no. The most dangerous quacks, he suggests, are not the lay analysts but the doctors who, lacking psychoanalytic orientation or training, use their degrees as membership cards to psychoanalytic practice. He believed that analysis would make its best contribution to science, human welfare, and medicine itself, if it were practised both by medical men who were psychoanalytically oriented and by specially fitted and trained laymen.

The question is not lightly answered and is still pressing. In addition to the polemic, the book contains a lucid presentation of the fundamentals of psychoanalytic theory. It is written clearly and with compelling force—which is to say it is written by Freud. R. G. N.

MUSIC: The Americanization of Europe

FOR TWO CENTURIES the United States has imported most of its music, many of its performers, and practically its entire set of musical values from Europe. Since the end of the war, however, the traffic has begun to move in the opposite direction. Two-thirds of the world's best artists are now American citizens, spending most of their time in this country and, when they feel like it, making triumphal tours of all the European countries from Spain to Sweden. Because new music—at least, music worth listening to—is in short supply in Europe, the works of American composers are received with increasing respect, and occasionally with enthusiasm. For European performers and composers alike, success in the United States has become as important back home as a European reputation used to be in this country. Without a New York accolade scarcely any artist can command top fees, however admirable his attainments may be, and even those who have created no stir in Town Hall or Carnegie Hall are careful to publicize the fact that they have appeared there.

Europe is learning quickly a good many of our techniques of musical commerce and promotion. The dozens of summer festivals that have mushroomed in the last three years, to help empty the pockets of international tourists, strikingly demonstrate the continent-wide discovery that music can be a highly profitable business without necessarily ceasing to be an art. Before the war, the lush tourist patronage converged principally upon the Bayreuth Festspielhaus with its *echt* performances of the Wagner music dramas (until Hitler took it over and made it a shrine of nationalism), and the Mozart festival at Salzburg, which was partly subsidized by American money. This summer it is difficult to travel two hundred miles in any direction without stumbling upon a music festival.

The Edinburgh Festival, begun in 1947, set the pattern for postwar trading in summer music. Following a course charted for three seasons by Rudolf Bing, now general manager of the Metropolitan Opera, the occasion owed much of its first success to its shock value. It was a triumph over a variety of improbabilities. Edinburgh had never been a musical center, and had no important musicians or institutions of its own; moreover, the city had neither the hotel accommodations nor, presumably, the food to supply an incursion of thousands of visitors. Bing eliminated the first shortcoming by importing orchestras, conductors and soloists, the Sadler's Wells Ballet, and the Glyndebourne opera group. The more mundane problems were solved when nearly all the citizens of Edinburgh agreed to house festival guests in their spare rooms, and the Scottish government provided special food allotments.

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Observing the behavior of tourists, and especially Americans, when a list of celebrated names was waved before their eyes, Dutch officials and businessmen organized in 1948 a month-long Holland Festival, modeled on Edinburgh. Its third, and most ambitious, annual series of orchestral and choral concerts and stage performances ended July 15.

As the festival fever spread across Europe, new enterprises were organized and older ones were expanded from local to international scope. In France this summer, Bordeaux has already had its big-name festival; Strasbourg has brought together some of the world's finest artists in an extensive series of Bach concerts; and Aix-en-Provence, for a second time, is about to demonstrate that the best performances of the Mozart operas are not always given in Salzburg or Vienna.

In Italy, productions of new and old operas, and choral and instrumental works, mostly Italian, turned Florence into a replica of Times Square during the Maggio Musicale; and in September the Venice Festival, devoted largely to contemporary music, will undoubtedly overtax the supply of gondolas. The annual festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music, a movable feast, attracted surprisingly large audiences to Brussels last month. And these are only the biggest events; dotted across the map of Europe are numerous smaller festivals, none of which seems to worry about attendance.

In order not to kill the goose that is laying so large a golden egg, the administrators of the major festivals put their heads together last year to coördinate their dates so that insatiable tourists might attend them all. In the future, a pooling of advance plans will enable the Holland Festival, for example, to avoid duplicating performances that are scheduled for Edinburgh. The two leading festivals in Italy will divide their field of operations next year, with Florence devoting its chief resources to opera and Venice specializing in ballets and concerts.

The appropriation of American methods of large-scale promotion is accompanied by the importation of American organizations in unprecedented numbers. Eugene Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra toured Great Britain a year ago, and the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Society, conducted by Dimitri Mitropoulos and Bruno Walter, will play at the Edinburgh Festival in 1951—in both instances at the financial risk not of themselves but of the British managements. Europe is overrun with American dance groups this summer and fall. The New York City Ballet opens a month's engagement at Covent Garden in London next week. Martha Graham and her company have been appearing in Paris, and will continue across Europe for several months. Ballet Theatre departs in August for six months on the Continent and in England. Ruth Page and her Ballets Americains have already returned from their ice-breaking trip.

CECIL SMITH

MOVIES

Caesars and Little Caesars

CAESAR WAS AFFLICTED with the falling sickness and presumably had doctors in attendance when a seizure was upon him. It would be interesting to know how that canniest of dictators assured himself that his physicians were faithful to Hippocrates, if not to him. Modern tryants have not been a notably robust lot and one of the neatest ironies provided by fascism is the plight of the despot who, ruling by fear, hatred and implacable omnipotence, must deliver himself as trustfully as his most innocent subject to a man with a knife in his hand. The dictator and his surgeon enjoy a unique relationship.

"Crisis" is based on this situation, with Cary Grant appearing as the doctor —an American on vacation—and José Ferrer playing the Latin American *caudillo*. But despite a pretension to thoughtfulness, the picture evades its fascinating dilemma by assuming from the start that a surgeon of Dr. Grant's evident probity will abide by the ethics of his profession. The doctor has been arrogantly abducted, he hates what the dictator represents, yet he feels compelled to operate; healing is a compulsion for such a man. This may be true to life but it is not dramatically useful; there is no real moral conflict (though there are a lot of moral words), and "Crisis," having avoided its opportunity, must settle for lively melodrama.

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There is a second issue by which "Crisis" might have attained stature, but again the producers kept their skirts clear. Democracy, the dictator says, is splendid for those mature enough to handle such heady drink, but his peasants thrive on the lash, not the ballot. The point is driven home when, on the tyrant's death, the leader of the revolt expresses identical views. The doctor makes no comment; he seems to agree that certain breeds just naturally take to the yoke. This need not be seen as evidence that the totalitarians are infiltrating M-G-M; it is just old-fashioned American chauvinism of the sort that has been endearing us to the savages for so long.

On the personal level, the work of Grant and Ferrer in "Crisis" is exemplary. They are both hammy in the sense that they are more plausible than convincing, but the ham is first-rate.

Grant is not one of those stage doctors who content themselves with holding someone by the wrist while frowning horribly at a pocket watch. He performs a long and complicated operation with technical finesse. More important, he talks and shaves and drives a car in medical fashion. This admirable mimicry, a matter of deftness, economy and tired brusqueness, is surface perfect; it is not Grant's fault that there is nobody beneath it.

Models for Ferrer were not so conveniently at hand, but he is an inventive actor. As far as we know, modern dictators have been little given to insouciance, but the trait is not incompatible with the role. Ferrer's catlike tyrant could not perhaps handle a very large slave state, but a small one suits him admirably. He looks dangerous and he looks attractive, intelligent yet unbalanced—it is a conception more than good enough for the purpose to which it is put.

The hero of "Where the Sidewalk Ends" is a New York police detective (Dana Andrews) whose manner toward felons is so excessively brutal that even his colleagues are shocked by it. This ferocity is apparently Oedipal in origin, his father having been just such a hoodlum as the detective now delights in pounding.

As the picture opens, Andrews is being warned by his superior to mend his ways; a few moments later he has the misfortune to defend himself against a drunk with a silver plate in his head. He ingeniously disposes of the resulting corpse but then suffers the further bad luck of falling in love with the deceased's ex-wife and of having to save her father from being executed for the killing. If this sounds complicated, you must know that in the background there is another corpse, presumed to be the property of a gang leader (Gary Merrill) who used to pal around with Andrews' father. The trouble with this picture is that it is too involved and depressing to be enjoyed as a thriller, and too absurdly contrived to be taken seriously. A lot of the scenes were shot on the streets of Manhattan, but the city is all out of scale. It feels more like Bridgeport than New York.

ROBERT HATCH

BANDWAGON

Quite

It seems to me that the Republicans, both in Wisconsin and nationally, will be missing a good bet if they fail to back McCarthy, actively and wholeheartedly. This is aside from any moral or patriotic obligations. – *Sanford Goltz in the* Wisconsin State Journal.

Blind Spot

When a major corporation finds itself obliged to give reasons for paying dividends; when it has to urge its workers to increase productivity and sales for the workers' own sake, we may judge how alien is the profit concept to the average American worker! – *From an editorial in the Chicago* Journal of Commerce.

Does It Matter?

Physicists agree that if a hydrogen bomb were dropped in Times Square every building would be obliterated within a radius of fifty miles and that all buildings beyond, up to 100 miles, would collapse. But there is no agreement on permanent after-effects. – *From an editorial in the New York* Times.

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